

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 682

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THREEPENCE

QUAKERS' PLAN FOR EAST-WEST PEACE

The two Systems can co-exist

A REPORT on American-Russian relations was released to the Press last weekend by the American Friends Service Council, who with the British Friends Service Council were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947.

They declare that war is not inevitable and attach to the Report three specific recommendations for easing the East-West tension.

The Report, made by a "working party" of sixteen Quakers set up in February, 1949, gives every indication of extensive and careful research realistically presented.

Those who seem to think that war offers a solution to national problems, the Report asserts, underestimate the disastrous effect of even a victorious war upon national institutions and economies.

Communist and Western concepts of political democracy, it says, are likely to continue in existence for a considerable time to come. The totalitarian elements in the Soviet regime should not be considered as a sign of instability in the Soviet State since these elements were all a part of the Czarist regime and have been characteristic of the Russian State for centuries.

Similarly, the traditions of Western democracy make it equally unlikely that Communism will attain influence in the West—given economic stability.

American and Russian similarity

After outlining the important differences in economic and political methods the Report notes important similarities between the Russian and American peoples, who seem to get along well together when they are allowed to mix freely: "The pioneer tradition of the Americans and the revolutions of both peoples have given each a certain scorn for distinctions of class or rank (which survive, nevertheless, in both societies through the sort of human inconsistency that is always detected more easily in one's neighbours than in oneself)."

Americans who have had business relations with the Russians, says the Report, seem virtually without exception to have come to respect their integrity, straightforwardness, and dependability along with their shrewdness of bargaining.

The two systems can co-exist

Despite the differences between the USA and the USSR the Report considers there is the possibility of enough accommodation to permit the different systems to compete peacefully without either of the two ways of life surrendering to the other.

Soviet Marxist theory, according to Stalin, is flexible and it would seem unwarranted to assume that Soviet Marxism would stand in the way of an acceptance of the idea of peaceful co-existence if, to quote Stalin, "new historical conditions" made it appear advantageous.

Although it is part of Communist dogma that capitalistic countries are driven by their very nature into wars over foreign raw materials and markets, the opportunity to demonstrate the error of this dogma lies in American hands rather than Russian.

The fear of Russia that exists in the USA, says the Committee is too obvious to need documentation. The fact that so many Americans feel so insecure in spite of possessing the secret of the Atom Bomb and currently spending over 15 billion dollars on arms would seem in itself to justify the present enquiry into better ways of seeking security.

Russia's fear of the U.S. is part of its more general fear of the whole non-Communist world. This fear has its origin in Russian geography and history as well as in Communist theory.

Military power cannot bring security

Exposed frontiers and broad plains have made the history of Russia—a continuous chronicle of invasions: Hungarians in the ninth century, Pechenegs in the tenth, Polovtsy in the eleventh and twelfth, Mongols, Poles, Swedes, and Napoleon followed by the Germans twice in the twentieth century, in addition to intervention by a number of nations just after the Revolution.

The Report doubts whether military power can bring security or stability in the modern world, instancing China, Germany after World War I, Greece, Indonesia and Indo-China.

The Air-atomic military power, towards which the U.S. policy appears to be steadily moving, is considered even less efficacious because:

1. It cannot be used against backward, non-industrialised countries because of the absence of concentrated targets.
2. In civil war situations it would devastate friend and foe alike, impoverishing the country regardless of which side won.

The Report notes that the United States has gone a long way towards adopting the theories of "offensive war" which were so prevalent in the German General Staff before World War II.

Democratic Government is weakened and authoritarian government strengthened by a high level of armaments. The standard of living of the people is reduced. On this latter point the Report quotes Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, chairman of the President's

(Continued on page six)

VITAL ISSUES

This week we publish two news items of supreme importance.

We urge all who read this issue to use every means of making these matters known through the Press and their MP.

"War is a fraud"

—NO MORE WAR CANDIDATE

"WAR is a fraud, it never delivers the goods," said Frank Hancock, prospective No More War candidate when he addressed Islington PPU Group last week. His address was delivered in the form of an election speech by a No More War candidate and outlined his reasons for leaving the Labour Party.

Frank Hancock said that when he visited Salisbury, his old constituency, recently he saw there a Territorial Army recruiting poster which invited men to join the TA because it would help them to pay the premium on "the best insurance policy your country can have against war."

"It is up to us to denounce that lie," said Frank Hancock. "The premium has gone up and up during this century and we have always had bigger wars."

Every family in Britain, he said, was £2,000 in debt to something which had made the world an infinitely more dangerous place to live in.

He considered all other political issues to be secondary in relation to the prevention of war.

"It does not matter about Old Age Pensions at 60 if you are to be smudged out at 50."

"Plans for education are useless if the children are to be blotted out on their way to school."

He told the meeting that he hoped a statement would shortly be made by the group of pacifists and others seeking to form a "No More War" Party.

WHAT'S HAPPENED AT GENEVA?

Democracies Reject Mass-bombing Ban

CONFERENCE IGNORES THE BIG ISSUES

REPORTS have appeared in the Press recently to the effect that at the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva, now drawing to its close, the USSR Government proposed a resolution demanding the abolition of mass bombing in warfare and the use of the atom bomb, and that the British delegate, among others, voted against it, so that it was defeated.

Two questions were asked in the Commons, and the report was briefly denied. Owing to this denial, and to the meagreness of the Press reports of the Conference, confusion has arisen as to what the USSR actually did propose and why it was turned down, and letters have appeared in some papers asking for clarification.

Below we give a short summary of how the Diplomatic Conference dealt with this question.

INVITATIONS were sent by the Swiss Federal Government to all the States adhering to any one of the Geneva Conventions, to meet in Geneva for a Conference on the Protection of War Victims. It is known as the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva, 1949.

The background of this Conference is as follows:

Last Summer the International Red Cross Committee met in Stockholm and drafted new Geneva Conventions. These Draft Conventions were adopted as the basis for discussion at the Diplomatic Conference.

The Diplomatic Conference elected four committees:

Committee I dealt with the protection of Sick and Wounded Personnel and the Hague Convention.

Committee II dealt with Prisoners of War.

Committee III dealt with a new Convention for the Protection of Civilians. Committee IV was a co-ordinating committee.

The Russian proposal

The question of bombing arose on an attempt by the USSR delegation to get Committee III to outlaw the use of the atom bomb and the mass bombing of civilian populations.

It is important to note the context of this. In Peace News of Sept. 3 last, it was reported that the 17th International Red Cross Conference at Stockholm had decided that the proposed Security Zones for Civilians were inadequate against modern weapons and it further called for an absolute ban in the atom bomb.

In effect, therefore, what the USSR and Israeli delegations proposed on June 15 was in accordance with the decision reached at the Stockholm Conference, which was itself adopted as the basis for the discussions at the Diplomatic Conference.

This fact seriously questions the reply given by Mr. Mayhew when, asked recently in the Commons why the British representative had voted against the Russian proposal to declare the concentrated bombing of civilian centres a war crime, he said, "This Conference is not generally concerned with war crimes at all."

For, as the Nuremberg trials showed, breaches of the rules of war are today treated as war crimes.

It also lays open to criticism Mr. Bevin's earlier statement that no such proposal had been made.

The Stockholm Draft lays down that the proposed Convention shall replace, in respect of the matters treated therein, the Hague Convention relating to the Laws and Customs of War.

Committee III, however, ruled that the new Civilians Convention should co-exist with the Hague Convention.

It was ruled out

What happened at the Diplomatic Conference was as follows:

A discussion took place in Committee III regarding an Article declaring that the Contracting States shall expressly prohibit any measure intended to cause physical suffering or to lead to the extermination of protected persons in their power. Massacre, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation, and medical or scientific experiment shall be prohibited as well as any other form of brutality.

The USSR delegation, however, feeling that this proposed Civilians Convention did not in fact provide adequate protection for

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NEW FACTS ABOUT HIROSHIMA

Death roll was 155,000

From PN Correspondent

BRISTOL

IT is now estimated that the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima accounted for 35,000 men, women and children who perished leaving no trace; 25,000 whose bodies were found a mile off; 75,000 who died of flash-burn three miles off, and a further 20,000 affected by Gama rays who died of fever and sickness lasting not longer than 10 days.

These figures were given by Dr. Daniel Q. Posin, Professor of Physics at North Dakota State College during a lecture at the Bristol Museum Lecture Theatre recently.

Uranium, he said, had been discovered in 1896, two years before the discovery of radium by Mme Curie.

But uranium, alas, had other possibilities and, while Dr. Posin and his colleagues were still on the way to discovering a remedy for diseases of the bone with their cobalt needles, another group of scientists had amassed sufficient knowledge to produce the bombs that levelled Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Victory was won but the U.S. Government did not close down on this achievement. Instead, orders were issued for bigger bombs.

When "the good men" left

"It was then," declared Dr. Posin, "that the good men left, Professor Albert Einstein among them."

Since then the Bikini Mushroom had been produced and now it was known that a body of water could be made to ascend 20,000 feet from its river bed and to disappear as a cloud in the sky. But it was an atomic cloud that perhaps 75 miles away would shed its fine spray, contaminating man, woman and child and food and water with the merciless Gama rays.

Twenty-five thousand scientists in America were employed on the making of these greater bombs.

But, concluded the lecturer, because he believed as a scientist that the brotherhood of man might be realised, he and those colleagues who had refused to use atomic research for human destruction, were carrying their message to all who would listen before it was too late.

The lecture was arranged by the Bristol branch of the Crusade for World Government.

Dean blesses Peace Bus

AFTER being blessed by Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the International Women's Day Peace Bus left Canterbury last Friday on its ten-day tour of England and Wales.

Mrs. Leah Manning, MP, Chairman of the Committee sponsoring the tour planned to join the Bus at Ipswich.

The Daily Worker reporting the arrival of the bus outside Firth and Brown's steel works at Sheffield said: "Men and women whose skill is being used in the arms drive, showed their earnest desire for a peaceful future by the rousing reception given to the bus and its passengers. Leaflets were eagerly read and several application forms for membership of the IWD were taken."

Mrs. Tamara Rust, secretary of the Women's Advisory Committee of the Communist Party and Miss Elizabeth Allen, Secretary of International Women's Day are among those travelling on the Bus.

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Futility

SUCH few references to the Geneva Conference as have appeared in the Press will only have perplexed the few who read them. They consist, mainly, of brief reports that the Russians proposed a resolution banning the mass bombing of civilians and that the British, among others, voted it down.

Scrappy though these references are, however, one gets little more satisfaction from a fuller report. For what it all amounts to is that yet another Conference, called to make wars nicer, has failed.

It could be said that something has been done. The fact that the Conference was called suggests that the world's governments have uneasy consciences and are half-heartedly looking for ways of mitigating the horrors of what they are preparing to do.

So a few more rules have been added to the list of those which have been broken in the past.

The governments have agreed not to hold hostages, not to kill or torture prisoners—and so on. And doubtless the delegates passed these rules with a quite sincere hope that they won't have to break them.

The International Red Cross emerges from the Conference with its humane traditions maintained, but, surely, with renewed fears that it is casting its pearls before swine.

For all these rules are futile. The governments have undertaken to refrain from all the atrocities except the worst ones.

They will not inflict corporal punishment on prisoners, but they will kill and cripple women and children.

They will provide further facilities to enable a captured soldier to communicate with his family, but they may obliterate his family while he's doing it.

They will not use rubber truncheons on a few hundred men in uniform, but they will use atomic bombs on a million civilians.

They will refrain from doing almost anything except the worst they know how to do.

Yet none of the governments concerned could have avoided this vast hypocrisy. For they all believe in war. And war cannot be improved. Every war must inevitably be worse than the last. Once started, every belligerent is compelled to use the worst weapons he can procure. And the only possible way to avoid this dilemma is to disarm completely and renounce war, which no government in the world has the slightest intention of doing.

No military authority will ever refuse to break any rule or use any forbidden weapon if he thinks it necessary to avoid defeat.

If all governments signed a protocol to go back to bows and arrows, within a month of starting war they would all be working hard to produce the worst bombs they knew how—if only because each suspected the others of doing it.

On committing itself to war, whatever the excuse, every government abandons morality, and holds itself free, should expediency demand, to massacre, torture, steal, lie, and violate all or any of those moral principles which, in peace-time, it regards as essential to the maintenance of social life.

All these Conferences are undignified exhibitions of insincerity, and this last one is as dishonest and futile as the rest.

Loyalties of different sizes

A Commentary by ROY SHERWOOD

I HAVE never been able to share the comfortable single-mindedness of those who see in the Kremlin the only threat to world peace, and in Communism the only danger to the things rightly held sacred by all men and women who respect the individual's integrity and conscience.

Communism—and even Communism plus Nazism plus Fascism plus Falangism plus any other isms that the future may hold—do not seem to me to be more than symptoms.

The fundamental cause of the danger to the human values for the sake of which even pacifists find it impossible to discover a quick way of making peace with Russia, seems to me to be world-wide, irrespective of class, of political opinion and national aspirations, an inherent feature of the transition stage upon which we all entered with the 1914-18 war, when slow-witted labour was first shaken into growing awareness of its strength, and became a political power no longer to be treated lightly.

The real struggle

IT stands out a mile that the real struggle forced on our century is one in which military victory or defeat are as irrelevant to the final decision whether the world will go forward towards justice for all or be thrown back farther than any human mind can as yet measure, as the passengers' ages are to the steam-gauge in the engine-drivers' cabin and to the destination of the train.

What is not irrelevant however, just because respect for individual right is shrinking everywhere, and that shrinkage is accelerated every time a necessary adjustment is brought about by compulsive forces instead of by voluntary agreement, is the extent to which matters on our own side of the fence provide fuel for the propaganda of any doctrine with totalitarian characteristics. Hence my constant concern with what is wrong in our own houses.

Dictator yes, Singer no

THE endeavour to align as much as possible of the world against the Soviets has just caused the U.S. Senate

Appropriation Committee to ask for the allocation of twelve-and-a-half-million pounds to Franco's Spain; and the same day which brought that news also brought the news from San Francisco that Kirsten Flagstad, acknowledged as the world's greatest Wagner soprano, is not wanted there for their Wagner performances because she sang in Germany during the war; and the further news, from the Philippines, that the defeated totalitarian of China, Chiang Kai-Shek, is seeking to establish an anti-communistic defence alignment for south-east Asia—which America is, however, cold-shouldering at least for the time being.

So unappetising a hotchpotch of criss-cross loyalties, all in alleged allegiance to the cause of democratic freedom, has a rank odour of purely self-seeking prejudice and intolerance. Mr. Averell Harriman, the U.S. Ambassador-at-Large of Marshall Aid and one time Ambassador to Moscow, must be more squeamish than the Senate Appropriations Committee appears to be on the subject of anti-communistic alignments in defence of democracy, for he is reported to have cabled to Mr. Paul Hoffman, the Marshall Aid Chief, from Paris that he "will be forced to consider his position" if the proposed allocation to Spain becomes reality.

Papal heresy hunt commences

NEARER home the moment's most direct fighting front against Communism lies on religious ground. The Pope has conferred powers of excommunication, hitherto confined to the Holy Office in Rome, on single bishops, to be pronounced at their discretion against people who do not conform with this decree. The decree declares that communist parties may not conceal their communistic character behind names such as those of the Swiss "Party of Labour," of Eastern Germany's "Socialist Unity Party," and of Poland's "Polish Workers' Party," and that Catholics may not collaborate in communistic publications.

It also warns them against reading anything in the nature of communistic propaganda—which in the case of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany must almost amount to abstention from reading the day's newspapers.

In Holland, the Catholic bishops have confirmed their ban on non-Catholic trade union membership for any of their communicants. With these developments set against the Communist Governments' pro-

secutions of Catholic church dignitaries, it is plain to see that war is in full swing—a war of criss-cross loyalties!

Dockland fog

AND still nearer home, on our own doorstep of the London docks, we have the worst example of all of conflicting loyalties and also one of the worst examples of transition troubles. As far as loyalty is concerned, there is no doubt that the dockers, however wrongly, look upon their refusal to unload the Canadian ships as an act of loyal solidarity with other trade unionists. And if it were not for the growing lack of understanding between union leaders and their ranks-and-files—which is the most typical as it is also the worst of our transition troubles—this fog of criss-cross loyalties could have been cleared up in a single hour.

This is where we reach our own internal danger point.

Four years ago, when Labour won the general election, cool-headed political observers knew at once that the Attlee Cabinet would have to be composed of magicians if it were to retain its hold on the masses beyond the first two or three years of its existence.

It was bound to become the coconut-shy for everybody's grievances under post-war difficulties, and to become separated from its natural followers by two things: by its own transformation into responsible administrators while the rank-and-file would persist along the lines of irresponsible critics of all government action; and the natural play of internal and external politics, which would force it to deviate from scores of things it had announced as sacrosanct in its days of political opposition.

The largest loyalty

ON the larger canvas of the country's political background, power is passing from the few to the many—and the many, despite the existence of a Labour Government, still look upon all government as "they" instead of looking on it as "we." That is why official strikes are becoming few, and unofficial strikes are becoming many.

What has all this got to do with the pacifist? That he is the man whose task it is to propagate the largest loyalty of them all—the loyalty to humanity beyond class, political consideration or national group.

KNIGHT-ERRANT OF GOODWILL

By John S. Hoyland

AT last we have a worthy biography* of C. F. Andrews, the friend of Gandhi and Tagore, and the man who laboured unstintingly for thirty-five years to make possible the miracle which happened in 1947, seven years after his death—the winning of freedom for India without war with the imperial power.

Andrews, who was brought up in Birmingham, and was a distinguished Cambridge scholar, travelled tirelessly from corner to corner of India, and then from country to country, all over the earth, where Indians were in social or economic need.

He was confronted by all manner of formidable vested interests, buttressed by financial, legal and political power; but his endless patience in collecting facts and statistics, his entire sincerity, his unflinching good-will, and his capacity for seeing both points of view, won him innumerable friends, and enabled him, almost single-handed, to put through to victory one campaign after another for justice and peace.

Everything Andrews did was motivated and inspired by an intense personal devotion and love for Jesus Christ. He became in his own lifetime a legend in India as "the one true Christian." His initials were interpreted by non-Christians as standing for "Christ's Faithful Apostle." Gandhi gave him the nickname Deenabandhu, friend of the poor. Thousands flocked to hear him speak, or even to get a fleeting sight of him at railway stations.

It was in part, at any rate, through the influence of his friendship that Gandhi came to understand, and put in practice, the great principle of the Eternal Cross, the principle which Jesus enunciated when He said that His follower must take up

his cross and follow Him. There is no evil or injustice, however stalwartly entrenched and defended, which may not be attacked and defeated if there is one man who is prepared, in the spirit of total dependence upon God, to bear patiently and redemptively, side by side with the sufferers from that evil and injustice, the very worst that they suffer, without violence, and in God-centred good-will.

It was as more than a symbol of this spirit and conviction that again and again, at the end of his great reconciling and peace-building fasts, Gandhi asked "Charlie" to sing to him our Christian hymn "When I survey the wondrous Cross."



The great Indian had seen that spirit at work in his English friend, and had known from his example of achievement that, given entire faithfulness to non-violence, and unflinching trust in God, that spirit is certain to build up its own counterpart even in the oppressor himself, so that in the long run it is the oppressor who brings the oppression to an end—as it was England herself who brought to an end her imperialism in India: and Hindu India herself who wrote into her new constitution the ending of Untouchability.

This new biography gives us one picture after another of Andrews at work on the great causes to which he gave himself. More than this it succeeds very remarkably in showing us Andrews the man, with his genius for friendship and his extraordinary capacity for eliminating himself on behalf of those in need.

More even than this, the book achieves something at least of the incredibly difficult task of transmitting by means of a written record a great man's spirit and

personality. And Andrews was a great man, a very great man. There are a number of well chosen portraits and illustrations.

Thank God for C.F.A. and now for this admirable portrait of him.

9 OUT OF 30

IT is good to find that this corner of the paper records the work of individual members in increasing the circulation of their paper.

A nurse in North London apparently enjoys a busman's holiday in her off duty time. She has been nursing our circulation in the following manner:

Off duty spell number one is used to distribute back numbers of Peace News to a selected row of houses by the simple method of dropping them in letter boxes. Off duty spell number two, a few days later, is used to canvass the householders, their temperature is taken—or rather their views on the new treatment is solicited along with a suggestion that further treatment, in the form of a current number of PN, be obtained.

Out of thirty patients, 9 were found to respond to the treatment, while two, surprised at their rapid improvement, yet appalled at the low state into which they had sunk, took a course of 13 weeks treatment at a nominal fee.

Now that our readers realise that there is a great need in this particular branch of the profession and that the response from patients is good, we hope for an influx of recruits.

For those who feel no vocation for nursing we suggest contribution to the Forward Fund.

THE EDITOR

Contributions since June 30: £2 18s. 5d.
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Gandhi Brotherhood

SEEKS WORLD-WIDE MEMBERSHIP

TO spread the message of peace and non-violence which the Christian Church is failing to preach in the West, Indians have collected 100 million rupees for a Gandhi memorial trust, part of the proceeds of which will go towards the publishing of cheap editions of Gandhi's writings in all languages.

Pandit Nehru has accepted the suggestion that the Indian Embassy or Legation in every country should carry a library of books by and about Gandhi.

One of India's peace missionaries, Professor Agarwal, arrived in London last week in the course of a world tour to contact those who are interested in Gandhian thought and have faith in its immense possibilities as a force for world peace and brotherhood.

As a spokesman for the Sarvodaya Samaj, the Gandhian Brotherhood formed shortly after the Mahatma's death in 1948, he is inviting those who believe in Gandhi's teaching and the basic principle of the Samaj—insistence on the purity of the means as well as that of the end—to join in the work of Brotherhood.

Their basic aim is to strive towards a society based on Truth and Non-violence in which there will be no distinction of class or creed, no opportunity for exploitation and full scope for the development of both individuals as well as groups.

Gandhi's message of hope

"Wherever I have gone," Professor Agarwal told a London Press conference, "people have shown profound interest in Gandhi's life and teachings. This is indeed

will, perhaps, mean the total destruction of humanity."

"The rise of all"

In India itself, the Sarvodaya Samaj (Sarvodaya—"the rise of all; Samaj—"Brotherhood") has the following programme for the achievement of the movement's aim:

1. Communal harmony (friendship between followers of different faiths and sects).
2. Abolition of class distinctions.
3. Prohibition.
4. Promotion of cottage industries.
5. Village sanitation.
6. Basic Education.
7. Equality of status and rights for both men and women.
8. Health and cleanliness.
9. Economic equality.
10. Development of Agriculture.
11. Organisation of Labour.
12. Welfare of aboriginals.
13. Organisation of students.
14. Service of lepers.
15. Relief work.
16. Naturopathy.
17. Other similar activities.

These items are mainly for India. A programme for different countries can be drawn up in accordance with local conditions.

Whoever accepts the Aim and the Basic Principle and tries to work them out is eligible for membership of the Samaj. On sending his name and address to the Secretary, at Bajajwadi, Wardha, C.P., India, he will be registered as a member of the Sarvodaya Samaj.

A GANDHI MEMORIAL IN BRITAIN?

It is hoped that a Gandhi Memorial Fund will shortly be opened in this country. The establishment of a Memorial in America is well under way; a Bill is before Congress authorising the grant of a piece of land in perpetuity in Washington upon which can be built a Gandhi Institute.

a hopeful sign for future world peace. Although the horizon seems to be growing darker and darker every day, Gandhi's spirit shines greater than ever in the midst of the encircling darkness and despair."

He hoped that, as the non-Indian membership of the Samaj grew, the annual conference of the Brotherhood would be occasionally held outside India.

In Japan there is already a Gandhi Society with a membership of about 50,000 people. Professor Agarwal said that, to the Japanese, Gandhi had become more or less a symbol for socio-political Renaissance, because the people realised that while their own leaders had made a free country slave, Gandhi had made a slave country free.

In the USA the professor had found respect and admiration for Gandhi even in the remotest countryside. "I could not come across a person who had not heard of 'good old Gandhi.' But unfortunately, people in America as in other countries in the West do not know much about Gandhi's writings," said the professor.

"I have come to England with hope and enthusiasm," the professor continued. "India's contacts with this country have been intimate through the last two centuries."

Cultural ties still hold

"Although these contacts were bitter in the political field, the cultural ties that have been forged all these decades have come to stay."

Now that India had become a full and equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations he had every hope that the partnership would prove a new chapter in the history of world peace and brotherhood.

Gandhi's message was not only for India but for humanity, and he felt confident that Britain would play an important part in infusing Gandhian ideals of truth and love into international politics.

The professor concluded by saying that India entertained great hopes from Britain in the field of international relations. "Let Gandhi be our common link and source of inspiration in making this world of ours a better place to live in. Otherwise a dark future awaits us all, for another World War in this Atomic Age

PLYMOUTH CORPORATION AND C.O.s

Debate continued in the Press

From a PN Correspondent

PLYMOUTH

THE discovery by Plymouth City Council that the work of their Education Committee was being hampered by a 1940 resolution not to employ conscientious objectors caused a stir in the Council Chamber and the Press here.

The matter was raised after Mr. M. A. Cunningham, successful candidate for a Child Guidance Clinic post, told the Education Committee that he was a conscientious objector. On June 27 the City Council decreed that COs could now be employed in any of the Corporation departments.

In the debate Ald. H. G. Mason vigorously defended freedom of conscience while the new Conservative Lord Mayor, Ald. Frank Leatherby, probably reflected the attitude taken by the general public: that as the Government recognised conscientious objection the Council could do the same.

In the Western Evening Herald, however, the debate was continued.

F. A. Hicks put the case against conscription: "No Government should tolerate conscription. We have fought for so-called freedom, to serve whom we wish—God or State."

"Many of our youth belong to a Christian denomination. On reaching military age they are forced to join one of the Services against their own will. War is not in accordance with the will of God, so learn the real meaning of freedom and abolish conscription."

"The nations of Europe are sometimes spoken of as 'Christian' nations, but there never was any fitness in the term. They never think of practising Christian virtues towards one another. A Christian is one who follows Christ, who forgives his enemies, and returns good for evil."

He was supported a few days later by Gilbert S. Wride, the local adviser of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors: "Your correspondent is correct in stating that men are forced into the fighting Services against their will."

"But in fairness to those who framed the Bill it should be mentioned that there are clauses in the Act which give exemption to conscientious objectors. Do the departments concerned bring this sufficiently to the notice of young men before and at the time of registering?"

Opposition came from an ex-Royal Artillery man who challenged one of the supporters of COs to air his views at a British Legion meeting, and continued: "In my opinion a conscientious objector in time of danger forfeits his birthright, so why insult the nation by considering them at all for public posts?"

"Toleration of the type . . . has sent thousands of our countrymen abroad in disgust."

"Others live up to . . . (Christian principles) in a far manlier way than burying their heads in the sand until all danger is passed."

This opposition letter was followed by a second letter from F. A. Hicks declaring that "Those who make wars should fight them. Such people must be abnormal knowing there is a better way of life."

"If statesmen are to grow no wiser in their guidance of the destinies of nations, civilisation will perish. We conscientious objectors had the courage of our convictions. We hid under no cloak nor joined special services to escape military danger. We have been condemned, despised, victimised, suffered imprisonment."

"We intend to serve Him to the end, no matter what man may say, think, or do. Jesus said: 'Thou shalt not kill; also 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.'"

The address of the local CO's Advisory Bureau is 14 King Street, Plymouth.

Letters to other Editors

YOUR article "Atom Raid Wardens," makes me almost despair for the world. I am a youth of 19, and I shudder to think of what I may have to face in the future. When, oh, when, will people come to their senses about science? Can they not see that it has advanced far ahead of man's ability to control it?

If I had my way, I should take all leading scientists, with the exception of those engaged in medical research, sail them on a ship into the middle of the ocean and then pitch them overboard. Then religion, art and music should be raised to the status that science now holds.

DONALD F. EGNER

7 Langley Terrace,
Primrose,
Jarrow, Co. Durham.

Illustrated, July 9, 1949.

BRIGADIER A. M. TOYE, V.C., commandant of the Home Office Civil Defence School, says that no weapon has ever been invented for which the answer does not exist. I would remind him of flying bombs and V2 rockets. The only satisfactory answer to them came when the armies reached the launching sites.

Britain is one of the most vulnerable targets in the world. If only one per cent. of atom bomb carriers penetrated our defences they would create devastation. And the bombs used at Hiroshima and Nagasaki are already out of date. It is my wish to become a world citizen as quickly as possible.

DISABLED AIRMAN

Intake Square,
Middleton, Leeds, 10.

Illustrated, July 9, 1949.

AT the Geneva conference which is considering amendments to the various Geneva Conventions the British delegation supported the United States delegation against the Russian proposal that the bombing of cities should be a war crime. May I be allowed to protest against this mid-summer madness which may have the profoundest effect upon our lives, or our children's, that is, ending them?

The vulnerability of our position does not need emphasising, therefore it is more than surprising that our delegation did not receive the most clear and precise instructions to support or take the lead in any such proposal; that they should have received the opposite instructions, or none at all, after our recent experiences, is wholly inexplicable.

It is easy to be cynical about humanising warfare, but progress has been, and can be, made in that direction. After all, we no longer eat our prisoners, and is the proposal not to bomb cities any greater step? If it is not the official view that progress can be made, why attend the conference? If it is the official view that progress can

be made, then let us take this great step forward. The argument that it would not be kept is beside the point, but in any case the likelihood of its not being kept should become apparent to any intelligence system in sufficient time for any country to prepare reprisals.

W. JONES

9 Plantation Close,
Maltby.

Manchester Guardian, July 11, 1949.

THE targets and objectives in the air exercises just finished confirm the view that the old conception of warfare as being a conflict between opposing armed forces on the field of battle has been abandoned, and that the new conception is the liquidation, by fully armed personnel, of helpless civilians who have no means of defence.

Whether anyone in the prime of their manhood can find any glory in blowing to bits a baby in its perambulator, some fellow human being's wife going about her household duties, somebody's mother giving a hand to her daughter, a nurse tending the sick, a doctor conducting a delicate operation, I know not; but amongst your readers are surely husbands who love their wives, sons who love their mother, and parents who love their children. Are they accepting as inevitable the massacre of those they profess to love without protest?

No government can wage war without the will of the people; there are, I believe, some 60,000 people in Worthing, if only half wrote to their MP, saying that they renounced war, they would give a lead to the whole country.

BERNARD L. TUMMAN

"Flint House,"
Storrington.

Worthing Gazette, July 6, 1949.

SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY, a brilliant mathematician put the cost of the first World War into material things and estimated that we could have built a house for every family in Britain, furnished it to the last detail including a piano and had plenty left over for hospitals and schools in every district, all supplied with the best instruments and appliances. That was only the material side, but what about the 20 millions of human lives estimated to have been lost in Europe in that war. No-one can estimate the value of those human lives.

Since then we have had another World War, more destructive, in wealth, material, and lives, and still there are some maniacs who talk of still another. It is interesting to know the role that has been arranged for Britain and the Marshall Aid countries in the next war.

This has been very plainly stated by Mr. Clarence Cannon, Chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Appropriations Committee. These are his words as re-

Under this heading we propose to give from time to time excerpts from letters to editors of other journals which we believe would be of interest to Peace News readers. We cordially invite cuttings, especially from the local Press for inclusion. Each cutting should bear the name of the periodical from which it was taken, together with the date of publication.

ported by BUP on April 14: "We must hit Moscow and every other city in Russia within one week after the next war starts and with land based planes. With the signing of the Atlantic Treaty we have the bases. All we need now are the planes to deliver the bombs. In the next war the United States must be prepared to equip the soldiers of other nations and let them send their boys into the holocaust so we don't have to send our boys. That is what the atom bomb means to the United States."

I have not seen any protest from any influential bodies or persons against this very plain statement.

J. W. JORDAN

Queen Street,
Shipley.

Shipley Times and Express, June 15, 1949.

I AM sure that there must be thousands of mothers who, like myself, were under the impression that the conscription of our sons was in order that, in the case of a major national emergency, there would be trained men ready for call-up.

It must have been as big a shock to them as it was to me to find that if was possible, in any circumstances, and with no European war emergency, that these boys could be sent out to the beastliness of active service in such places as Malaya.

Was it for this that we went through the hell of air-raids, the dangers and difficulties and privations of their years of childhood?

It is barbarous that a so-called Christian country should decree that its boys be forced into a period of killing as part of their education for life. And such killing? The shooting down of women guerillas for instance.

OLIVE SHELDON

Finchley Road,
NW3.

Evening News, May 14, 1949.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WCI

By Hubert Butler

FRIENDSHIP: PERSONAL OR OFFICIAL

WHEN I was in Yugoslavia over a dozen years ago I held a travelling scholarship which enabled me to go round the country. In the days before the Iron Curtain to be foreign was, at the start, an asset, and when I arrived in some town of Bosnia or Macedonia I was made to feel welcome.

There was usually a little club, presided over by someone who had travelled abroad, and I was entertained. When I said I was Irish, sometimes my new friends were perplexed by this unnecessary flaunting of provincialism when I could have passed myself off as an Englishman.

They themselves were often at pains to explain that they were only Yugoslav by some accident of geography; spiritually they belonged to some great centre of culture and civilisation—Chicago, Vienna or London. Those who were contentedly Yugoslav accepted me readily as an Irishman.

I was glad I belonged to an insignificant nation. It has never surprised me that in Abyssinia, before the Italian invasion, the most popular foreigners in that rightly suspicious land were those who hadn't any country—stateless people travelling on Nansen passports, French, English, German, Italian—to a thin-skinned native they seem to plant flags when they enter a cafe. It is hard for them not to use a national prestige to inflate their own small personalities.

I had a scheme

While in Zagreb together with a Yugoslav friend, Mirko, an English teacher in Dalmatia, I worked out a scheme that still seems to me superior in many aspects to the various official contrivances for "cultural intercourse."

I got in touch with a few small clubs and two or three Irish friends with inquiring minds and talents of some kind which would provide an excuse or a visit to the clubs, which mostly agreed gladly to entertaining a visiting stranger. But how was his ticket to be paid for? In Yugoslavia the Press Bureau used to issue free tickets. The first Irish visitor (I will call her E.) was to bring a correspondent's card from her local paper (she would write an article for it when she returned). In this way I got her a free ticket for the Yugoslav railways.

Enter officialism

While in Ireland I tried to make a corresponding plan for a Yugoslav visitor to Ireland. There were no clubs, no Press Bureau, but from one railway company I got a free ticket for Mirko, from another one at half price. I got an engagement for him on the Irish radio and a promise to accept two articles of his by the Irish Independent and an invitation to talk at the Mansion House in Dublin. Then he got an invitation to stay near a Technical School where a talk for him could be arranged.

On his part he discovered a cultural organisation in Yugoslavia to finance his

journey as far as Ireland. Financially all went well enough. Mirko paid his way with talks and articles and enjoyed himself. But the little unpretentious gatherings we had looked for did not materialise. We were only half appeased by being given sherry at the Mansion House. The Yugoslav consul was at the lecture and warned the audience against asking indiscreet questions about politics.

An important official atmosphere was generated, which is fatal to friendliness and understanding. All the same we felt we had laid down a rough track which could become easier and smoother as more people followed.

Back in Yugoslavia I started to prepare for E's visit. And here my story ends in a very unsatisfactory apotheosis. Just before E was to come the British Council started.

I suggested to her that perhaps they would help her with fares to the frontier. They received her sympathetically, recognised her talents and engaged her as the first British Council visitor to Yugoslavia.

My scheme died

The British Council was launched, my scheme died. With the coming of the Council a wave of excitement passed over the little clubs. British MPs were promised them, libraries, paid secretaries, scholarships. And with success came suspicion. A bomb was placed under the chair of the librarian of the British Council in Zagreb and both her legs were blown off.

As for Mirko—he would scarcely have been human had he resisted the temptation to cash in on his knowledge of English ways, and he has become an interpreter to Yugoslav delegations to foreign capitals. In Belgrade in 1948 I heard an English resident describe him as a "Government stooge."

The Iron Curtain is porous

The Iron Curtain seems unexpectedly porous in parts, impenetrable in others. In Belgrade I found an American establishment exhibiting the American Way of Life. One window was full of New York fashions, another showed a model recommending the secret ballot. A big well-manicured hand was being inserted stealthily into a ballot-box. In another

Effective and Right

MANY readers of "Reconciliation" appreciate the monthly editorial commentaries on current affairs, by Rev. Lewis MacLachlan. The one from the April issue, dealing with the Atlantic Pact, has now been reprinted as a free leaflet under the title "Effective and Right!"

Trust in arms is both foolish and wrong, it states, and even if it turns out to be less fatal than it ought to be, such a pact has nothing to do with the kind of peace-making in which Christian pacifists believe. In the present dangerous state of affairs they are called, as never before, to maintain their witness to the things that belong to their peace in the way which is both effective and right.

Supplies of the leaflet may be obtained from For, 38, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

World Front, 1949, by Bernard Moore and Andrew Boyd. Cr. 8vo. 64 pp and cover, illus. (London: United Nations Association, 1s.)

THIS survey of the United Nations at work is nicely produced and unusually well-written. It is in two parts. The first, by Bernard Moore, deals with the first part of the Third Assembly which was held in Paris at the end of 1948. It is, as he admits, a tale of uncertainty, procrastination and inconclusiveness, and it will amply confirm the fears of many who doubt whether the organisation, as at present constituted, can be politically effective.

After a brief summary of the Berlin dispute, the second part, by Andrew Boyd, records the current work of the United Nations commissions and specialised agencies. Here is reading for the optimist, for, behind the welter of figures and initials which always seem to confuse it, he can discern the vast extent of what Trygve Lie has called the "constructive work, the work for peace that never gets into the headlines."

Religion Amid Turmoil, by E. W. Barnes. Cr. 8vo. 40pp, paper bound. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1s. 6d.)

The Rede Lecture, 1949, delivered by the Bishop of Birmingham. To contain such a subject in so small a space it has been necessary to reduce it to the mere outline of a book which might be written, but it is still provocative and thought-provoking.

The author believes that even if a third world war comes it will not be the end of civilised progress; it would be dreadfully

foolish yet not utterly disastrous. Although some apparently wise men see little hope of world unity, he, because of his faith, does not share their pessimism. Political, racial and economic difficulties can, and will, be overcome, but this will not solve all our problems. The grim guardians of the gates of paradise are not only racialism and war, but over-population and starvation, and above all man's need for a religion adequate for his time.

After a survey of the principal great religions of the world, the Bishop turns, again, to his own belief. He would not pretend that the traditional formulation of Christianity can be wholly maintained. It must purge itself from much that has become childish, but it need not thereby lose the simplicity of greatness. Intellectually and emotionally its appeal is stronger than that of any rival faith, including Communism, and whatever religion emerges from the present turmoil, he does not doubt that it will be a form of Christianity.

According to the Pattern, by H. J. Dale. Cr. 8vo. 8pp. (Birmingham: The Christian Party, 3d.)

An exhortation to Christians to practise their religion without adulterating it or toning it down. The author declares that if mankind is to be saved from perpetual frustration and final ruin there will have to be a Christian Revolution, but, from non-Christians no change of spirit can be expected as long as the professing followers of the Prince of Peace show themselves more concerned for national power and worldly prestige than for the Kingdom of God.

was a huge plan of "The Temple of Science," in which all the branches of science can be studied in pseudo-ecclesiastical surroundings.

Evidently under Government patronage pseudo-science, pseudo-religion, sales talk and political preaching can filter through from USA. The Iron Curtain cannot be as impenetrable as we are told.

I found a British Reading Room in Zagreb, with many good books and papers and, despite the Iron Curtain, many Yugoslavs reading them. But to the Yugoslav most Anglo-Saxon literature is escapist rather than stimulating, so little relation does it bear to his problems. Six friendly voices from England, which were not trying to sell England, would be worth six tons of print from Fleet Street.

The Fruits of Victory

In South Africa the vanquished are once more on top

IN The New Statesman and Nation of June 18, 1949, there appeared, in "A London Diary," signed "Critic," the following paragraph:

I have admired and enjoyed Bertrand Russell so much for so many years that I find it difficult to express anything but pleasure that he has been given the O.M. He now seems to me to have lost his way as a political philosopher and social thinker. I have in front of me, for instance, a recent article that he contributed to the Morning News on May 28, 1949. This paper is published by the Allied Commission in Austria. He says that if we had a successful war against Russia he profoundly believes that this "would produce a Renaissance of hope and joy and creativeness, a great leap of the human spirit, leading to a new achievement in art, in science, in politics, and in the organisation of a humane way of life."

"Critic" adds the comment:

"What troubles me is that so great a thinker should now write anything as shallow as the sentence I've just quoted."

To this comment one may well add the observation that, to those who remember the honourable pacifist record of Bertrand Russell in the First World War, the paragraph quoted is so deplorable that one could wish there were grounds for doubting its authenticity.

Now I pass from the rambling rhetoric of Russell to another matter.

Fifty years ago

In St. Paul's Cathedral last Sunday, a special service was held in connection with the jubilee celebrations of the South African War which began in October, 1899.

Some of us still remember the agitation that preceded the war concerning the grievances of the "Outlanders" in the Transvaal under the regime of President Paul Kruger, and the furious controversies that raged concerning the cause and conduct of the war.

We remember that, on the British side, the declared objects of the war were to establish equal rights for all white men in South Africa, together with justice for the coloured population. When the war ended on May 31, 1902, with the victorious Peace of Vereeniging, British arms had completely triumphed, the Union Jack waved unchallenged from the Cape to the Zambesi, and the declared objects of the war were believed to have been achieved.

In 1910 came the establishment of the Union of South Africa, with the somewhat curious sequel that three of the defeated Boer generals—Botha, Hertzog, and Smuts—became in succession Prime Ministers of the Union.

Now, nearly half a century after the war was won by Great Britain, we have a still more curious sequel, for the vanquished are once more on top and the victors are underneath.

The new "Outlanders"

As all diligent newspaper readers will be well aware, Dr. Malan, the present Afrikaner Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa has just pushed legislation

The Quaker Peace Testimony

We are brought to the ultimate choice:—
Retain war including the use of the atomic bomb as a last resort in a desperate endeavour to preserve the peace, with all the risks involved; or

Renounce war absolutely, remove its causes, and trust to the reconciling and unifying power of active goodwill.

Can we doubt that if all the vast effort used in the war had been used to implement the moral concepts of our Christian religion, we should today be enjoying a happiness and prosperity unexampled in world history, instead of the misery and suffering of the world's greatest and most brutal war?

Let us therefore accept the challenge, renounce war absolutely, not because we fear the atomic bomb, but because we have a compelling vision of the Good Society, based on the Christian view of life, and Jesus' method for its attainment.

—George E. Hartley

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Byles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

through the Union Parliament designed to have the effect of reducing people of British race to something approximating to the position of the "Outlanders" under President Kruger. With regard to the position of the coloured population, those who have had the opportunity of hearing recent speeches in this country by the Rev.

By

HERBERT BRYAN

Michael Scott will have learned something about the grievous disabilities under which the black man in South Africa now labours.

Dealing with this matter in its issue of June 18, 1949, The New Statesman and Nation, in an article headed "South African Fascism," says:

If Dr. Malan has his way, South Africa will be reshaped as a four-class State. The base of the pyramid will be formed by millions of completely disfranchised and compulsorily illiterate Negroes; the next layer by disfranchised Indians, the next by disfranchised Whites, and at the top will stand a compact Herrenvolk of reliable Fascist minded Burghers.

Now it is not my intention to revive the controversies of half a century ago, nor to offer any solution of present racial problems in South Africa, but merely to call attention to the fact that the fruits of victory in South Africa have crumbled away, as have the fruits of victory in the First and Second World Wars.

And now I return to Bertrand Russell, who, in face of the facts of history, asks us to believe in the glorious results that would be achieved by a successful war against Russia. Well, we can believe whichever we hold to be the most credible—the reckless and regrettable rodomontade of Russell, or the unmistakable verdict of history.

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

Compiled by

Joseph S. Rowntree (1939)

and revised by

Helen Byles Ford (1949)

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Relief Notes

JULY RECORD FOR U.S. INTAKE OF DPs

A RECORD number of displaced persons are scheduled to arrive in the United States during July.

Thirteen U.S. Army transports are bringing 11,547 displaced persons during the month. In addition, some 450 displaced persons—most of them young children, expectant mothers, and ill and aged men and women—arrived in the U.S. a fortnight ago by plane.

The International Refugee Organisation announced these figures as the second year of operations began under the U.S. Displaced Persons Act of 1948. IRO said that 44,549 persons have been accepted by the United States during the first year of the Act, although transporting of refugees under the measure did not begin until last October.

Although IRO has helped resettle 500,000 refugees in various countries since it began its work in 1947, it expects to have 304,000 still registered when it is scheduled to cease operations on June 30, 1950.

Lutheran World Action, which at present is looking after 120,000 children in the Russian Zone of Germany has recently allocated another \$150,000 for a child feeding scheme.

The Protestant and Orthodox churches of Northern Ohio have joined forces to bring six hundred DPs from Europe into their part of the United States. Only recently has the plight of the refugees been placed squarely before them, and they have risen in this united way to be helpful.

Six million garments or pairs of shoes have been sent to Europe by the Society of Friends in the British Isles since the war.

"Peace is more than absence of war"

THREE conditions for peace were described by Swami Ayyakantananda of the Vendanta Movement when he spoke on "Non-Violence and World Peace," at a meeting of the South-West London Peace Group recently.

(1) Complete freedom for the individual to choose his own faith, and to pursue science and philosophy according to his conscience.

(2) A system of political democracy in which laws can be formulated and enacted by representatives of the people.

(3) An economic democracy which guarantees the fullest expression of the working class. The problem of peace is not merely our spiritual integration, but the integration of the whole of society.

"Peace is not mere absence of war," said the Swami. "It is absence of the tensions, hypocrisy and undesirable strifes and struggles which appear in our individual lives as well as our collective life."

"Non-violence has a universal basis which is recognition of the oneness of all forms of life. It accepts the need for love, generosity, fellowship and co-operation."

"When we try to use non-violence it is to eliminate the conditions which bring about bloodshed and warfare. These conditions are not only individual, but social, national and international."

Land work for would-be C. of E. minister

ALTHOUGH still a schoolboy, 18-year-old Peter Newman Brooks, of Otley Old Road, Westwood, Yorks, argued his case well when he appeared before the Leeds Conscientious Objectors Tribunal on June 27.

He told the Tribunal that if he found a burglar in his home he would try to reason with him and not use force.

Peter Brooks, who attends Leeds Modern School, said he was seriously thinking of becoming a Church of England minister. He resented the use of force "except by schoolmasters, and policemen making arrests."

He was registered as a CO on condition that he took up work on the land.

UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION FOR FORESTRY WORKER

UNCONDITIONAL exemption was granted to an 18-year-old forestry worker, Henry Waring, of Oxford Street, Scarborough, when he came before the Leeds CO Tribunal on June 27.

His father, a merchant seaman, was killed at the beginning of World War II.

CONSCRIPTION IS NOT FORCED LABOUR—Bevin

THE only reference to conscientious objectors in the Draft Convention of Human Rights occurs in the definition of "forced or compulsory labour" in Article 8. Mr. Bevin told Emrys Hughes in answer to a Commons Question.

The Commission, Mr. Bevin added, had before it a definition under which the service exacted from conscientious objectors in virtue of compulsory military service laws was not deemed to be forced labour, provided that they were compensated for such services with maintenance and pay not inferior to that received by a soldier of the lowest rank.

The United Kingdom representative was instructed to point out the difficulties of applying this criterion; and to support the view that a reference to the pay and maintenance to which conscientious objectors should be entitled was inappropriate in a definition of "forced or compulsory labour."

In 1947 a petition was addressed to the Human Rights Commission by the War Resisters' International urging that an article be included to read as follows:

"The right of the individual to refuse military service in obedience to conscience shall be recognised."

Churchill gets a "Peace" Tie

CHURCHILL, Truman, De Gaulle and other leading statesmen have been sent ties by a German firm which have on them the following slogan, "Friede ernhardt—Unfriede verzehrt. Peace creates—war destroys." These peace ties, made by a Krefeld, firm have also been sent to the leaders of the German parliamentary parties.

Pacifist Profiles

IT is harder to be a pacifist in France than in England, for the military spirit and tradition are stronger there than here. Yet the Trocmé ménage is one of the world's strongholds of international pacifism.

Magda Trocmé may be said to have been born with a natural inclination to internationalism. She was born in Florence in 1901. Her father, Oscar Grilli, who is still living, is an engineer and retired Colonel of the Italian Army; his mother was half English, the daughter of Col. Baker, governor of Java, and his father was a friend of Mazzini and was exiled on account of his political opinions.



MAGDA TROCME

Her mother was Russian; her name was Nellie Wissotsky and she was the daughter of a Russian "Decembrist" (Officers' revolution against the Czar) and for that reason was exiled in Siberia.

Magda's children, therefore, are blessed with four grand-parents—French, Italian, German and Russian, and relations from England, Holland, Greece, North and South America, and she says—"We do hope they are going to be international children." They certainly have every inducement.

With her husband, André (who was the subject of our "Profile" of March 4), Magda is co-secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation for Continental Europe. Theirs was a marriage of ideals; it might also be called a pacifist romance. "Since my childhood," she says, "I had heard much talk of liberty, and I

was not surprised when, in New York, I met André Trocmé—then a French student of theology—who was speaking of another kind of liberty, a liberty without an army and a liberty of non-violence."

At that time Magda herself had a scholarship in the New York post-graduate School of Social Work. She also had an Italian teaching degree for Italian literature and two French degrees. After marriage she continued her studies and passed a "concours" at the Paris Sorbonne, enabling her to teach Italian as a Professor in the colleges and lycées of France.

She and her husband worked as pastor and pastor's wife and carried on considerable social work for two years at Mauberge in the French metallurgical district, for six years in the coal-mining area of Sin-le-Noble and for 14 years in Le Chambon-sur-Lignon (Haute Loire), where she helped her husband and Edouard Theis to found the Collège Cévenol and to do the work they did during the war, i.e., to help Jews and political refugees and try to make of Le Chambon a centre of non-violent resistance.

During her husband's captivity in a concentration camp, and later when he had to live "under cover," she carried on the work as best she could. For eight years she taught Italian at the Cévenol College but for two years has confined her teaching to private lessons so as to help her husband with the FoR work.

The Trocmés had four children, a girl and three boys. The daughter, Nelly, is now 21 and will graduate this year at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, a Quaker college. She was the first pupil to end the whole cycle of secondary studies at Cévenol. Her eldest son, Jean-Pierre, died of a serious accident. Jacques, 17, is returning to Cévenol after 13 years at Westtown Quaker School, Philadelphia. Daniel, 15, is at Mount Hermon School, Mass.

These children have a magnificent heritage, and there is every promise of their carrying it on to enrich their generation as their parents have enriched theirs.

WRI WANT FULL-TIME WORKER

THE following letter was sent to Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU by H. Runham Brown, chairman of the War Resisters' International who is recovering after a serious operation.

My Dear Stuart,

I thank you, the National Committee and all PPU members, particularly Peace News, together with all my other good friends, too many to name, who have expressed their good wishes to me during the last few weeks. They have helped me greatly to enjoy this struggle as I have enjoyed many others—and to get better, which I am now doing quite quickly.

I have no more doubts that I was going to get better, physically I mean of course, than I have doubted the goodwill of my many friends. Had I not done so, that would have been just too bad.

Just as I was about to have my biggest operation my seventieth birthday slipped past and now that I am over 70 I have

got to recognise that I shall not be able to do quite so much as I have tried to do in the past, therefore I want just one person who will give up whatever he or she is doing and come to our WRI offices all day and every day, five days a week for pay, an honorarium or without, and help me, or rather Grace Beaton who is doing the major part of all the work. The man or woman that I want must be able in a little while to write the right kind of letters, dictate them (or perhaps sometimes type them); they must be able to quickly fit in with the spirit of a rather unusual kind of movement. This is not a job but a calling.

If anyone knows of such a person, will you ask them to write to me at 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

And so you see my gratitude to all friends is a lively sense of favours yet to come,

Yours very sincerely,
H. RUNHAM BROWN.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, July 23

SOUTHEAST: 7.30 p.m. Labour Hall, London Road: "Is Peace with Russia Possible?" Stuart Morris; Southend PPU Group.

TRURO: Come-to-Good Friends Meeting House, between Falmouth and Truro; Area Rally; Further details from Stanley Keeble, Little Nanteak, Allet, Truro, Cornwall; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3 p.m., 6 p.m. Large Hall, National Trade Union Club, 12 Great Newport Street; The People Against War Conference; J. Allen Skinner, George Paine and others; Council for Action Against War.

Sunday, July 24

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; Stuart Morris; PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Stoke Newington PPU.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

Thursday, July 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, "Speakers Get Together." Refreshments from 6.30; London Area, PPU.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Saturday, July 30 to Saturday, August 6

AMERSHAM: Youth Holiday Conference: "Citizens of the World"; Illustrated brochure from 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

Sunday, July 31

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

HIGHBURY CORNER: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Islington PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; Stoke Newington PPU.

Saturday, August 6

HYDE PARK: World Peace Day Meeting, PPU.

PLEASE HAND THIS TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M.....
(Newsagent's name)

Name.....

Address.....

Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order. 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Minimum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

EDINBURGH. 20-27 August. Wanted double room. Reply Box 74.

COUPLE REQUIRE accommodation, London area. Anything considered up to £2 p.w. Box 76.

OFFICE OR share of office with telephone required Central London early Sept. for Secretary of Charity. Box 73.

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village. Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons. 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5486.

FOR SALE & WANTED

TWO ACRES fertile land wanted. Preferably with cottage. Water essential. BM/AJLM. W.C.1.

CARAVAN TRAILER (2-wheel) in perfect condition. Completely redecorated throughout in pale cream. Size 6 ft. x 10 ft. Sleeps two adults. Furnished. Bargain £150. D. Cort, 290 Southbourne Grove, Westcliffe-on-Sea.

ECONOMY LABELS for re-using envelopes. Large, good quality, cheap; publishing Peace News. Post free, for 1s., 50; 1s. 9d., 100; 15s., 1,000. Also plain economy labels 1s., 100; 8s. 6d., 1,000 post free. Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

CORNER BOOKSHOP, 88 Montague Street, Worthing. Secondhand books. Lists on all subjects. Sociology, religion, literature, occult-psychology. Or your special wants.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

HOLIDAY READING? Order your novels, Penguins and all other books from your own booksellers. All profits go into "Peace News" work. Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PERSONAL

MARRIAGE BUREAU. Suitable introductions arranged privately. Details free Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1 PPU Group.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants accepted by the Control of Engagements Order, 1947, No. 2021.

LINOTYPE OPERATOR and Compositor wanted (TU) for work on newspaper. No Saturdays. Permanency for right men. Write or phone: W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd., 12g Manor Road, N.16. STA 2943.

MARRIED COUPLE, gardener-handyman, and cook, required girls' boarding school. Simple cottage available. Burgh College, Nr. Skegness.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

CAN ANYONE help CO (43) ex-land, intelligent, educated, literary ability, newspaper experience, proof-reading, freelance journalism, clerical, typing. References. Box 75.

SINGLE MAN, 5 years general farm work. Anything considered. Mann, 23 Ranelagh Gardens, Ilford.

FIRST-CLASS duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 29 Rokesby Avenue, London, N.8. MOU 1701.

MISCELLANEOUS

OSTEOPATH. PATIENTS received and visited. Obesity, rheumatism, sciatica, constipation, etc. W. Robinson, D.O., 35 Wolsley Road, Crouch End, N.8. (MOU 3134).

SCHOOLTEACHERS, STUDENTS, and others able to give holiday voluntary help are urgently needed at Peace News office. Clerical work, re-decorating, carpentry, etc. Fares and meals paid for if required. Write, call or phone (STA 2262) 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

WAR RESISTERS' International web comes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Essential Reading for Active Pacifists

THE PPU JOURNAL

Monthly Fourpence

From Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, or your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.)

Diogenes would like him

But others want less Monty

DIOGENES, who went about looking for one honest man, would have been pleased to meet Field-Marshal Montgomery.

In the latest of his many political orations he said, "I put peace last. That is because peace is a by-product and not a direct aim. If made too much of a central target it is liable to lead to appeasement."

In contrast with the statesmen of the world, who while preparing for mutual extinction keep telling us they put peace first, this honesty is refreshing.

Few besides Diogenes, however, seem to like it. The 43 press-men engaged in reporting the Fleet Exercises, tired of the radioed communiques which were full of the doings and sayings of Monty who was watching the manoeuvres, finally managed to get the following signal to the Admiralty Information Officer: "More Manoeuvres, Less Monty."

In last Tuesday's News-Chronicle, A. J. Cummings had a curt comment to the effect that Montgomery should stop making strong political speeches and stick to soldiering, otherwise he would endanger his military authority.

In one quarter only the Field-Marshal's abundant words are regarded as golden. In the Daily Graphic, following a report of Monty's "Holy War" speech, appears the following:

"In order to give as full a report of Viscount Montgomery's speech, the Saturday article on 'My Favourite Text' has been held over."

So with this demand for "More Monty, Fewer Texts," the matter rests at present.

Sir Duff Cooper and the PPU

"If the Peace Pledge Union, that unhappy and harmful product of the disastrous epoch between the wars, were to come to life again, it might be justified in protesting against the sale of 'Their Finest Hour' lest it convey to a younger generation the impression that a great war is a glorious experience which they have been unfortunate to escape."

THIS concluding passage in Sir Duff Cooper's review of the second volume of Winston Churchill's history of the last war, published in the Listener on June 30, was challenged by Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU in a letter to the editor which appeared in the Listener of July 7.

Sir,—As Sir Duff Cooper in his review of "Their Finest Hour" introduces the name of the Peace Pledge Union in what seems to be a somewhat resentful and irrelevant way, he should not be surprised to receive a gentle reminder that we are still very much alive.

It is perhaps, fortunate that the review of Mr. Churchill's volume two is not rendered valueless by the display throughout of the same kind of pique and prejudice which is shown in the concluding sentence. Let Sir Duff Cooper be assured that through our bookshop we sold many copies of volume one, and so far from wanting to advise anyone against reading the book, are prepared to order copies for them. We believe in asking people to read all sides, confident that the truth which will then prevail will justify us.

Suffice it to say that even Mr. Churchill's volumes will not paint the complete picture. Indeed, it would need the pen of the peacemaker rather than that of the warrior to tell the full story. Not the least part of the tragedy of war lies in the fact that the courage, heroism, and self-sacrifice which seem to many to make it so glorious an experience, are so largely ineffective in obtaining the results which its protagonists desire.

However valuable the experience of dying in war may be, it is good that many have been fortunate enough to escape and have the opportunity of displaying a similar courage, self-sacrifice and fellowship in the more glorious experience of building a world at peace.

STUART MORRIS

London WC1.

Benjamin Britten at Amsterdam

BENJAMIN BRITTEN, one of the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union, received an ovation in Amsterdam's Concertgebouw last week after the world premiere of his "Spring" Symphony. "Another salute," said the Daily Express, "to the 35-year-old composer who has put post-war British music on the world map."

With Benjamin Britten in Amsterdam was another CO artist, Peter Pears.

Correspondence has been unavoidably held over until next week.

QUAKERS AND PEACE

(Continued from page one)

Council of Economic Advisors, in a speech on April 5:

"\$15,000,000,000 a year for military purposes means approximately \$300,000,000 each week. As compared with this, it is proposed to spend for the next year as a whole \$300,000,000 for education, about three-quarters as much for slum clearance, low rent housing, and farm housing; and a little less than \$300,000,000 for the promotion of public health; and a little more than that amount for rural electrification."

Neither U.S. nor USSR intends war

The Report states that the evidence does not justify the conclusion that either the United States or the USSR intends, at the present time or in the foreseeable future to promote its foreign policy by military aggression.

The continued and unregulated competitive growth of long-distance super-weapons does, however, increase the danger of war between the Soviet Union and the USA, not by deliberate aggressive action but out of fear, or out of an incident or accident.

To relax the tension

In their specific recommendations the Committee point to three areas in which, with wise statesmanship, tension can be relaxed—trade, Germany, and the United Nations.

They urge increased trade between East and West and the dropping of present restrictions on normal exports to Russia and Eastern Europe.

U.S. policy on Germany, they say should have as its objectives the political and economic unification and the neutralisation of Germany. For the U.S. and the USSR to continue the competition for Germany will almost certainly lead to disaster.

All occupation forces should be withdrawn following the establishment of a unified regime and Germany should be a party to an international convention covering the control, inspection, and reduction of armament.

The only hope for a long-range disarmament of Germany lies in her being a party to an international convention including all the great powers, providing for reduction of existing armaments and for the establishment of adequate measures for inspection and control.

With regard to the United Nations, the Report urges that the USA strengthen and develop this organisation, declaring anew its faith in and loyalty to it.

Seal stocks of A-bombs

The U.S. should seek to improve the atmosphere in which the U.N. works by:

Seeking out issues on which the U.S. could, without jeopardising its fundamental beliefs, vote with the USSR.

Practising and encouraging restraint in the use of the United Nations as a platform from which to extol national virtues.

Using great caution in proposing in

★ GENEVA CONFERENCE

(Continued from page one)

civilians, suggested they should go further and extend the prohibition also to the extermination of a civilian population by any other means.

But the United Kingdom delegate and the Canadian delegate considered that the Russian proposal exceeded the terms of reference of that Committee.

A vote was taken and the Russian proposal was defeated. The delegations voting against it were: UK, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Spain, USA, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan, Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay and the Holy See.

Those voting for it were: USSR, Albania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Israeli, Mexico, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Venezuela. Those abstaining were: Afghanistan, Chile, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, India, Siam.

They'll try again

At the close of this meeting the Soviet delegate expressed his intention of presenting his amendment again to the Plenary Conference, which at the time of writing has not met. It will take the form of the following resolution:

"This Conference decides that:

(a) The use in an eventual future war of the bacteriological and chemical means of war as well as of atomic weapons and any weapons intended for the mass extermination of population is incompatible with the elementary principles of International Law and is contrary to the honour and conscience of peoples;

(b) It is the duty of all Governments which have not yet ratified the Protocol concerning the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiant, Toxic or Similar Gases and of Bacteriological Means signed in Geneva on June 17, 1925, to ratify the said Protocol in the nearest future;

(c) It is the duty of Governments of all countries to secure the immediate conclusion of a convention prohibiting atomic weapons as means for the mass extermination of population."

the UN measures sharply divisive in effect.

Making frequent changes in the personnel of delegations, especially where apparent impasses have been reached and real negotiation appears to have been superseded by debates for benefit of the world Press.

Proposing that on occasion the member States of the United Nations be represented at meetings of the Security Council or the General Assembly by heads of State.

Proposing an agreement to put present stocks of atomic weapons under United Nations Seal, and to halt the concentration of fissionable material pending UNAEC certification of legitimate uses for such material.

"If the world is to be freed from the recurring threats of armed conflict the way must be found, slowly and patiently, to some form of inclusive world organisation whose authority must grow; it cannot be established successfully by resolutions only. It should be the cornerstone of United States policy and the constant endeavour of all United States citizens to aid and encourage that growth."

Members of the working party have had long talks with Mr. Gromyko and other Russian delegates to the United Nations, as well as with U.S. State Department officials, in their quest for a permanent and honorable policy for ending the cold war.

They end their report by saying that no single East-West problem can be solved alone and none is the key to the rest. They should all be faced and met one by one according to a settled time schedule.

Owing to the importance of this extensive document, we propose to publish a fuller text of the three specific recommendations made for easing East-West tension in forthcoming issues. Next Week: "A proposed policy for Germany."

AYLESBURY WORLD GOVERNMENT MEETING

AT a recent meeting held at Aylesbury under the auspices of the Crusade for World Government at which the Rev. Brian Hession took the chair, a reference was made to the Peace Pledge Union which was regarded by some present as an attack on the PPU.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, the Rev. Brian Hession has given Stuart Morris permission to make clear that he did not make or intend to make any attack on the PPU or on the conduct of its affairs at the present time.

He explains that when, following the appeal for money for the Crusade made at Aylesbury, questions were asked as to its source and use, he, as Chairman, asked the speakers to give the fullest possible replies, so as to put the Movement above the whisper and suspicion of scandal. His reference to the Peace Pledge Union had regard only to the disillusionment that many felt at the beginning of the war with the PPU and other peace movements. It was in no sense intended as a reflection upon the PPU or any other peace movement at that time.

Von Manstein's trial

A RECENT letter to The Times from one of General von Manstein's counsel stated that the defence would be prejudiced unless he could have the assistance of British counsel of a similar status to that of the prosecution, and that this had been refused.

The securing of full justice for ex-enemy prisoners whatever their rank, particularly after they have been kept waiting so long for a trial, has always been regarded by the PPU as a matter of primary importance. Stuart Morris, therefore, wrote to The Times quoting the above, and suggesting that if the British Government maintained its refusal a fund should be opened for the purpose of providing British counsel.

This letter was not published, but last Saturday's Telegraph contained a letter from Lord Bridgeman and Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, saying that as the trial would be regarded throughout the world as of great importance, they had opened a fund for the purpose of providing British counsel.

The Press reports that Mr. Churchill has contributed £25 to this fund, so there is every hope that what many would regard as a serious breach of justice, detrimental to British reputation, will be avoided.

"Speakers' Get Together"

All London pacifists interested in open-air meetings are invited to a "Speakers' Get Together" at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1., on Thursday, July 28, at 7 p.m.

Sybil Morrison and other PPU speakers will discuss problems and difficulties facing the would-be open-air speaker.

Refreshments will be available from 6.30 p.m.

On Aug. 6 a Hyde Park "No More Hiroshimas" demonstration and meeting will be held. Full details will be published next week.

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

By Roger Page

*Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more . . . deserve it.*

—Joseph Addison, *Cato*

A CAMPAIGN, says my dictionary, is a "series of political, commercial or other activities designed to bring about a result."

It is well to remind ourselves of this, and that the PPU campaign has a definite object; briefly, to make fresh adherents to the PPU pledge and to present non-violence as the alternative to war.

Very often we are asked, sometimes in jibe, if we think we can prevent war by our campaign (just as, of course, the pioneers of the Labour Party were asked if they really thought there would ever be a Labour Government in Britain).

The answer is that we do not know but that in any case the question is beside the point, since the PPU campaign is not immediately and directly a prevent-war campaign. It is a campaign designed to win individuals over to the renunciation of war; a campaign designed to make people see the wrongness of war and to refuse to take part in it if it comes.

We do not claim that we can guarantee to hold off any particular war; we do assert that we can and must increase the number of people who will not fight. We do not know the possibilities of the one; we do know the certainty of the other. And what follows is that if we can sufficiently increase the number of non-participants we shall have done away with war itself.

Lesson of 1940

I am very well aware that some people are probably beginning to sneer just about here: as if the PPU can stop a war! Well, you can make almost any human endeavour look pretty silly by selecting the terms by which you describe it. The powers-that-be can sometimes teach us a lesson in this.

When in 1940 there were invasion scares John Citizen was encouraged to enrol in the "LDV" and stand by to repel boarders. The Government didn't crush his spirit by saying that you, 60 years old and stiff with rheumatism, couldn't stop the German army with your broomstick! On the contrary John Citizen was encouraged to think it did all depended on him.

In the same way those who patronisingly ask do we think we can stop war by giving out leaflets at the station betray nothing but the thinness of their own blood. The PPU campaign does not ask for people who do only the things which carry a guarantee of short-term success; it asks rather for people who have devotion and conviction; for people who, seeing the immorality of war, must cry out against it; for people who "can do no other."

We cannot be sure of success, but we can be sure to earn it. And if everyone who has a conviction that war is wrong would really work to express that conviction, then we shall have deserved success. And we may get it!

Next week Sybil Morrison returns to this column and, after a well-deserved rest, to her work as PPU Campaign Officer.

I feel sure that nothing could make her so glad to be back, nothing make her holiday seem worth while, as to find awaiting her a huge pile of requests and offers.

Will you write and ask for some literature or for something to do; will you become at least in some measure a part of the campaign? Or if not that, why not take five minutes to write to Sybil Morrison to wish her well and assure her of your interest? That does help.

WORLD PEACE DAY

AUGUST 6

(Anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima)

We ask readers of Peace News to join in the world-wide demonstration for peace by selling and distributing quantities of the special Aug. 5 Commemorative Number.

SPECIAL RATE 16 Dozen

For additional copies (postage 3d. extra)

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